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## THE SONG OF DEBORAH.

ℳ = Masoretic text.

Θ<sup>a</sup> = The Greek version of the Book of Judges, represented by the *Codex Alexandrinus*.

Θ<sup>β</sup> = The Greek version of the Book of Judges, represented by the *Codex Vaticanus*<sup>1</sup>.

Ⲯ = Peshita.

ℒ = Targum.

ℒ = Vulgate.

Figures like v. 9 refer to the verses of the traditional text of Judges v; figures like II, 3 to the columns and lines of my restitution of that text. In the latter I have enclosed between brackets those words, the critical restoration of which is only a matter of guessing, not of knowing.

MARQUART has hit very near the mark, when he contends that the whole Song of Deborah is divided into strophes, every strophe having ten κῶλα<sup>2</sup>. But I should prefer to say, that every strophe has five verses and nearly every verse two κῶλα, which are bound together by the *parallelismus membrorum*.

But besides the κῶλον, the line, and the strophe, there is a higher unity, which I should call column, each column consisting of three strophes. This division has been all but recognized by Moore, to whose able and sober commentary I refer, once for all, my readers<sup>3</sup>. That these

<sup>1</sup> That there are two different Greek versions of this Book was discovered by Johann Ernst Grabe, and rediscovered in our century by Moore and by De Lagarde. To praise the latter's edition of Θ Judges i-v (in *Septuaginta-studien*, 1892, pp. 1-72) would be something like immodesty.

<sup>2</sup> *Fundamente israelitischer und jüdischer Geschichte*, 1897, p. 2. A similar observation has been already made by August Müller, "Das Lied der Deborah," 1887, p. 12 (in *Königsberger Studien*, I).

<sup>3</sup> *A critical and exegetical commentary on Judges*, p. 128. More especially I shall refrain from expounding why the traditional readings or explana-

columns are realities is shown by the facts, (1) that I, 15, according to the words יְדִבְרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, the prooemium ends and the song proper begins; (2) by the *corresponsio* of II, 2 and III, 2. I imply, by the use of this term, that I have reasons to believe, to a certain extent, in D. H. Müller's well-known theory.

As is generally acknowledged, the text of the Song is often interrupted by what we are used to call dittographies, but ought to call perhaps *variae lectiones*, which were originally written on the margin, and show, even now, how anxious were the Pre-Masorites not to drop a jot of genuine, if corrupted, tradition. I give here a list of those particles of the Song which have to be discarded; the list is not full, as we shall see later on; all the items have been recognized already by others<sup>1</sup>.

I. Glosses: v. 5 b סִינִי ב<sup>2</sup>; v. 6 b בִּימֵי יַעֲלֵ ב<sup>3</sup>; v. 24 b אִשָּׁת חֶבֶר הַקִּינִי.

II. Dittographies: v. 2 b-v. 9 b; v. 11 d-v. 13 a, b; v. 16 c-v. 15 d, e; v. 27 b-v. 27 a.

It is not well possible to confound these dittographies with the ἐπανάληψις, which is used with great force throughout the whole Song (e. g. II, 14 צְדָקוֹת)<sup>3</sup>, and is well fitted to weld together the two κῶλα of a line; upon the only doubtful case (v. 21 כִּישָׁן נָחַל קִישָׁן) see my note.

## NOTES.

v. 2, 3. That the Song begins with the words שְׁמֵנוּ מְלִכִּים has been seen by Marquart; it is proved by common sense and by many analogies (Gen. iv. 23, Deut. xxxii. 1, Is. i. 2,

tions in so many cases are impossible, as this has been done by Moore in a thoroughly sufficient manner.

<sup>1</sup> Everybody interested in these *variae lectiones* ought to study and to retranslate the text of G<sup>a</sup> v. 7-15, which is in this respect much fuller than that of M and G<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> It is remarkable that G<sup>a</sup> had a better text of Judges v. 5 than the author of Ps. lxviii. 9: the words הָיָה לִי הָיוּ were not read by the former.

<sup>3</sup> See Cooke, *The History and the Song of Deborah*, Oxford, 1892, p. 27.

xxviii. 23, xxxii. 9, Micah vi. 1: see Duhm's note upon Is. xxviii. 23). Marquart is also right in regarding בפרע וגו' as a double of v. 9, where the word מחוקקי—for this seems to underlie the letters לחוקקי—is a gloss to פרעות. But the grammar compels us to write לפרע and להחנרב; the letters v. 9 are in fact nothing but a remainder of לפרע. The verse is rightly translated by Dr. Arendzen (in his dissertation upon Theodorus Abu Kurra's *Libellus De Cultu Imaginum*, Bonn, 1897, second thesis), "Quod in Israel fuerunt principes, qui duces se prae-buerunt, quod fuit populus qui sese sponte obtulit, benedicite Domino."

v. 4. נמטו or נמנו Budde<sup>1</sup> (Ⓜ<sup>a</sup>), נמפו, Ⓜ<sup>a</sup> Ⓜ<sup>b</sup>.

v. 6. In the same way, as v. 4 a נמטו has been dislodged by נמפו v. 4 b, so v. 6 a מלכים, which is only preserved by Ⓜ<sup>a</sup>, has been supplanted by ארחות of the next καλωσ. מלכים "merchants" or "caravan-leaders" occurs only here and 1 Kings x. 29, which passage we must examine a little closer.

(1) 1 Kings x. 28 מקוה = from Quî; see Winckler, *Alttestamentliche Untersuchungen*, p. 173 (Ⓜ). (2) 1 Kings x. 28 ends with יָקָחִי. (3) סחירי must signify the thing which they fetched for the king from Quî: probably we have to read סְחִירִי, cf. Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 496 b, "*suhîru*, m. ein bestimmtes thierjunges," see *ibid.*, p. 173 a, s. v. בכר. (4) In 1 Kings x. 28 the second מקוה is a repetition of the first; בְּסִחִיר—for so we read, instead of בְּמִחִיר—must form part of a sentence, which named the price of the סחיר, as the beginning of ver. 29 tells us the price of chariots and horses, i. e. בסחיר belongs to the second part of ver. 29. (5) יֶכֶסֶף (סָף) נ' [יָתֵנִי] and read וְחֵצֵא, Ⓜ<sup>a</sup> יֶצֵא, Ⓜ<sup>b</sup> יֶצֵא, discard יֶצֵא, Ⓜ<sup>a</sup> יֶצֵא, and read [יָתֵנִי] and fifty pieces of silver they paid for the סחיר to the merchants of the Hittites and the merchants of Syria, by whom they (the animals) were exported."

We can hardly avoid seeing in מלכים the Aramaic מְחַלְכִין,

<sup>1</sup> *Die Bücher Richter und Samuel*, 1890, p. 104.

the meaning being probably not intransitive (as Dan. iii. 25, iv. 34), but transitive, "leaders of הליכות" (Job vi. 19)<sup>1</sup>.

v. 7. חדלו בירון בישראל חדלו do not form a sentence, but are a conglomeration of words that belong to v. 6 and v. 11.

עַד שְׁקַמְתִּי וְנָא; the word עַד has no meaning, unless not one calamity, but the whole of the national misery, has been related. And as at least the end of v. 8 is still concerned with this misery, it is after this verse that our words have to be replaced.

v. 8. It is the depression of "the classes and the masses," of which we expect to hear in these two lines (I, 8, 9). Now טβ has not שְׁעָרִים, but שְׁעָרֵי שָׁרִים (πόλεις ἀρχόντων; πόλις = שַׁעַר v. 11 טα טβ), which I translate "the strongest of the nobles"; cf. v. 19 חַבְמוֹת שְׁרוּתֶיהָ, Ez. xxvii. 8 עֲרִיצֵי גִימִּים. For שַׁעַר has probably the meaning of אֲדִיר, see my note upon v. 13.

אָ is by no means "then," but "yea," "nay." So it is used not only in our Song, v. 19 (where it serves to emphasize the ἐπανάληψις of נִלְחַמִּי), but also Gen. xlix. 4, Jer. xi. 18, Cant. viii. 10, Ps. xcvi. 12, Job xxviii. 27<sup>2</sup>. Upon the accurate insight into the nature and the use of this particle the exegesis of three other words depends.

(1) בָּלַחַם טא, לַחַם טβ, must contain a verbal form, and this verb itself must be a rather strong expression. We can hardly avoid reading בָּלַחַם, and thinking that this word, connected with Arabic لَحَمَ "he slapped"<sup>3</sup>, designates, by

<sup>1</sup> This would be a rather early testimony to the commercial importance of the Aramaeans. That the country of Damascus was already aramaized by the end of the thirteenth century has been seen by Wilhelm Max Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altaegyptischen Denkmälern*, pp. 234, 235.

<sup>2</sup> Here רָצָה confirms דָּבַק and יָדַע ver. 23; vers. 24-26 are in parenthesis, בְּשִׁשִּׁי ver. 26 belongs to לִשְׁשִׁי ver. 25. I do not at all agree with Budde, who discards ver. 24 and thinks the author speaks of the time of creation. אֵן is *pronomen demonstrativum* Ps. lxi. 5, Prov. xx. 14, Eccles. ii. 15 (אֵן אֵי הוּא אֵי, cf. אֵתָּה הוּא); see Schroeder, *Die Phoenizische Sprache*, p. 80, note 12; von Gumpach, *Alttestamentliche Studien*, pp. 206-223.

<sup>3</sup> I have to thank my friend Dr. Hirschfeld for kindly verifying the significations of the Arabic words quoted by me in this article.

the way of a forcible metaphor, dispiritedness and humiliation (cf. German *Niedergeschlagenheit*). لَهْفَةٌ means "languor."

(2) The predicate of the first κωλον (יבחרו or יבחר) must have a meaning not very different from נלחם—though it may be a milder word. בחר is the same word as Arabic بَحَرَ "attonitus fuit prae terrore."

(3) In nearly all the passages quoted above, the subject of the sentence introduced by אִי is identical with the subject of the sentence affirmed by אִי, the only exception being Ps. xcvi. 12; but even here שָׂרִי and קָל עֲצֵי יַעַר are not so absolutely different, as שָׂרִים "nobles," and אֱלֹהִים "God" or "Gods," would be. I think, therefore, that in this passage, if anywhere, אֱלֹהִים means earthly princes. Comp. Ex. xxii. 27, Is. viii. 21; the vocative, Ps. xlv. 7, shows that the word was used as a title, and from Ps. lxxxii. 6 we see how the full meaning of this title was reduced—probably under the influence of an envious and monotheistic democracy—to a genealogical בני עלין.

הַדָּשִׁים Ruben, מִן הַדָּשִׁים מִן הַדָּשִׁים. I do not understand what הַדָּשִׁים may mean, and believe it to be an outcome of the analogizing philology of the Pre-Masorites, to which we owe so much that is sound and clear in our texts, so far as the consonants are concerned. They could not help thinking, in this case, of Deut. xxxii. 17. We can hardly miss here the article—the case of אֲרוֹחוֹת עֵקֶלְקֵלוֹת is quite different, as nobody would think of translating it, "the roundabout paths"—and we expect here an *epitheton ornans*, referring to the martial qualities of the אֱלֹהִים, to be contrasted with יבחרו<sup>1</sup>; אֱלֹהִים הַדָּשִׁים is said, as שִׁיר הָעוֹר Jer. xlvi. 7 (see my note upon v. 13); דָּשִׁים is, I think, a very telling participle, considering the use of דִּישׁ Micah iv. 13, Hab. iii. 12, Is. xxv. 10. Jacob, *Studien in Arabischen Dichtern*, IV, 17, quotes 'Adî b. Riqâ (*Bekri*, ed. Wüstenfeld, I, rr, line 7), "es droschen sie (*fadâsathum*) unsere Schaaren am Tage von

<sup>1</sup> So v. 26, 27 סָפַל אֲרִיִּים and הִלְמוֹת עֲמָלִים form a scornful antithesis; see Studer, *Das Buch der Richter*, p. 165.

Riäl, so dass sie wie gemähates waren."—"Terror-stricken are the Lords, the 'thrashers (of war),' nay, dispirited are the strongest of the nobles."

The word בִּישְׂרָאֵל is wanting in  $\Theta^a$ , and if I have rightly transposed עַד שֶׁנִּכְמְתִי וְגו', it is easily understood whence it crept in, and that it must be discarded. This being so, the second  $\kappa\omega\lambda\omicron\nu$  begins with וְרַמָּה and after מִן a word has dropped out, which is perhaps preserved by  $\Theta^a$ , v. 12 ἐξελείπον μὴρυάδας μετὰ λαοῦ (עַם) (עוֹרֵי רַבּוּבוֹת עִם); עוֹרֵי belongs to v. 12, עֲמֻמָּה (עֲמֻמָּה) to v. 14 (בְּעֲמֻמָּה), and רַבּוּבוֹת [בְּ], I think, to v. 8. We should not do justice to the ב ("amongst") of בְּאַרְבָּעִים if we do not assume that מִן and רַמָּה designate persons, in the same way as Fabius was called "scutum imperii<sup>1</sup>." The figures (רַבּוּבוֹת and אַרְבָּעִים אֱלֶּהָ) merely denote great masses.  $\Theta^a$  אִם אֶרְאָה (ἐὰν ἴδω, see De Lagarde's note),  $\Theta^b$  אִם אֶרְאָה, "I did not see a shield among myriads, nor a spear among forty thousand, until thou stoodst up, &c."

v. 9-12. These five lines call upon the different classes of the nation to praise the Lord for the victory.

v. 10. After שִׁירֹו a word like נִפְלְאוֹתָיו seems to have dropped out (??).

v. 11. That שָׁם must have a word to which it refers, is as necessary here as in v. 27 (בְּאֶשֶׁר... שָׁם);  $\mathfrak{S}$  translates "ubi," מאַתָּר<sup>2</sup>. Write מְקוֹם (מְקוֹם, von Gumpach<sup>3</sup>).

עַל גּוֹבֵין בֵּית) מִשְׁאָפִּים means, very likely, "lading troughs" (שְׂקִיא רִמָּיָה  $\mathfrak{S}$ ); מַחְצִים is an obscure word. It is tempting to combine it with מִחָן "ladle<sup>4</sup>," or the probable root of this word, Arabic مَحْفَص (see Fleischer, in Levy's *Dictionary*, III, 309). But the result of this combination would be an awkward tautology. Observe, that the poetess, after having

<sup>1</sup> See Studer, l. c., p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> The translation לִיאֵר דְּרוּחָה נִקָּן וְגו', which tries to take into account both the readings מְקוֹל and מְקוֹם, is found in Walton's text, but not in the *Codex Reuchlinianus*.

<sup>3</sup> It is worth while to read his clever exposition, *Alttestamentliche Studien*, 1852, pp. 73-75.

<sup>4</sup> See Levy, *Neuhebraeisches Wörterbuch*, III, 78; Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim &c.*, p. 763.

used three participles, takes up another means of expression, and that therefore מַחֲצִים can hardly be a participle too; that מקום and שם are used in a rather pointed way, and that, accordingly, we may expect מַחֲצִים to contain a *nomen actionis*, leading up to, or contrasting with, יתנו צדקות יהוה. So I venture to write מַחֲצִים—of the same form as נִאֲמָפִים—comparing Arabic مَعَى (I. “was vexed,” II. “irritated,” “vexed”): “At the place of irritations, (namely) between the lading troughs.” We can easily imagine how often quarrels at these places have arisen; see Ex. ii. 16, 17, Gen. xxi. 25<sup>1</sup>.

v. 11. The fourth עִירִי is translated by אַחֲרִי, and this again by Gabriel Sionita “confortare.” I refrain from reprinting Payne Smith’s very full article upon אַחֲרִי, which really seems to have meant “get strength.” Now it is strange that G<sup>a</sup> has ἐξεγείρου, ἐξεγείρου, λάλει μετ’ ὀδῆς, ἐνισχύων ἀναστὰς ὁ Βαρὰχ καὶ ἐνίσχυσον Δεββώρα τὸν Βαρὰχ, where ἐνισχύων and ἐνίσχυσον may point to a gloss שִׁירִי (cf. Hos. xii. 3, 4, Gen. xxxii. 28). Whatever this may mean, can it not have been the original reading for the fourth עִירִי?<sup>2</sup>

As שִׁירִי דְּבָרִי means “give a song of your own composition”—certainly not “recite somebody else’s production”—what follows is Deborah’s song; and if columns II and III are hers, then certainly so also is the first column, though it may have been recited by others.

v. 12. It has been seen already by Studer (l. c., p. 140), that קום ברק וגו’ must be connected with the next line (אז ירד וגו’), for אז must refer to a given situation or action; with שִׁיר דְּבָרִי the words ברק קום have nothing in common, except the grammatical form.—The first ὥλον is too short, and I do not see what can have dropped out, if not יהוה אמר, cf. iv. 6 יהוה צוה.

<sup>1</sup> Its derivation from a root מחץ seems to be implied by J’s translation, “ubi collisi sunt currus.” It was repeated in our century by E. Meier, *Übersetzung und Erklärung des Debora-Liedes*, 1859, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> בְּחֻבְנָתָם: שְׁרָרִי = שְׁרָרִי: שִׁירִי?



v. 13 שריד. This word, used in a strophe that bristles with fixed historical terms, cannot but designate a certain section of the people, who took part in the war. We may, I think, identify it with the שריד עזר (Ⓢ שריד עזר), who is mentioned, not only in Jer. xlvii. 4, but also at the end of the same chapter; for Ⓢ (xxix. 7) reads there ἐπὶ τοὺς καταλοίπους ἐγερεθῆναι, and it can hardly be doubted that we must write על שריד העזר instead of על שריד העזר.<sup>1</sup> I explain שריד העזר as, say דוד המלך (2 Sam. xiii. 39); i. e. שריד העזר designates the function, שריד being a kind of proper name. "Socii" of the Phoenician towns can only be people of non-Phoenician origin, if not non-Canaanites. I find the same kind of people in Num. xxiv. 19, where I read שריד מעור instead of שריד מעיר.<sup>2</sup> They seem to have rebelled when this oracle was uttered.

A glimpse at the etymology is afforded us by Job xx. 26, for the words שריד באהלו אש לא נפה | ירע שריד באהלו are exactly explained by I, 14-16; שריד, then, is that curse of the settled peasant, the wandering Bedouin, cf. شَرِدَ "went hither and thither by reason of his sprightliness."

In Judges v. 13 these Bedouins appear to be closely connected with the Lord and his people.

As לאדירים v. 13 and לשערים v. 11 seem to be variants—they can hardly be doubles, as Cooke is inclined to think (l. c., p. 43)—one might suppose that the poetess speaks here of gods (שעירים?) whom the שריד followed, just as the

<sup>1</sup> All that Ⓜ has preserved—שם יעדו—is the outcome of a wrong division of letters, ש רידה. The feminine article (τὰς καταλοίπους) is in agreement with what precedes (τὰς παραθαλασσίους, scil. πόλεις), and does not point to a reading שריד, for then the origin of the letters found in Ⓜ could hardly be explained.

<sup>2</sup> The same correction is suggested by Ⓢ's βοήθεια 2 Sam. xviii. 3; we ought to read כמעט עשרה אלפים ואחד טוב כי תהיה לנו כמעט עשרה אלפים "For like us there are ten thousand, but as for you, it is better that you remain for us as a helper;" the first עֶקֶה—or better, אֶקֶה, as Ⓢ has it—being a double of the second one, as לעזר of מעור. The Hiphil of עזר occurs also in 2 Chron. xxviii. 23. As to the rest of Num. xxiv. 17-19 see my *Critical Remarks*, p. 13, note 1.

Israelites followed their lord, or a kind of nobles (אדירים), who were the usual leaders of the שריר in war. But the "nobles" of the first κῶλον would contrast very poorly with the יהוה of the second; and the שְׁעִירִים could hardly have been mentioned in this way by a song which attributes apparently all the *initiative* of the rising to the Lord of Israel<sup>1</sup>.

And there is perhaps another difficulty. ⚡ and ⚡<sup>a</sup> seem to read in v. 13 a ה after the ל (⚡ has להאדיר = למשבחו, cf. ⚡ Is. xlii. 21; ⚡<sup>a</sup> ἐμεγάλυνεν<sup>2</sup> ἡ ἰσχύς αὐτοῦ = הַאדִיר עָזוֹ, i. e. האדיר עם). But this must not induce us to write להאדירים, for the ה is usually elided in the older books of the O.T., the only exceptions being 1 Sam. xiii. 21, 2 Sam. xxi. 20, 2 Kings vii. 12 (see Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Grammar*<sup>26</sup>, § 35. n.).

All this can be explained, if we suppose that there was originally written שְׁעִירִים, that אדירים · שְׁעִירִים are a gloss belonging to שְׁעִירִים v. 8<sup>3</sup>, and that לה is a *sigla* for ליהוה. The latter is found in some other passages.

(1) Hosea iv. 19 read צִרֹר רוח אֹתָהּ) צִרֹר רוחות יהוה בְּבִנְיָהֶם (וּלְ בְּבִנְיָהּ) "Whistle, ye winds of the Lord, against their places of offering." The meaning of the κῶλον and the significations of צִרֹר (= Arabic *ṣarr*) and of בנה have been rightly explained by me, *Critical Remarks*, pp. 11, 12. ⚡'s *συριεῖ* is the outcome of clever, though mistaken, guessing, σὺ εἶ is a stupid "correction" by some ancient *μασωρο-λάτρης*.

(2) Hosea xi. 9, 10 we must read וְלֹא אֶבְעֵר אֶת־רִידָה: אֶלֶף וְגַ' (Steiner, Oort, Ruben<sup>4</sup>, ⚡); the final כ of אֶת־רִידָה was misread, as has often been the case, as ה and this ה by mistake resolved into יהוה.

<sup>1</sup> It is a different thing with the Canaanites, who, as we shall see later on, joined the Israelitish movement when it was already afoot.

<sup>2</sup> De Lagarde's *acdhp* ⚡ have ἐμεγαλύνθη.

<sup>3</sup> The original form of the gloss was perhaps אדיר · שְׁעִירִים; cf. ⚡ v. 11 לחורש (= לשער), and ⚡ v. 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Critical Remarks*, p. 20; ⚡ has ולא אבוא בשער אחרי יהוה ילכו.

(3) The same change of letters has taken place in Hab. ii. 15, where we must read  $\text{הוּה}$  instead of  $\text{הַמְתֵּךְ}$  (Wellhausen has already corrected  $\text{מִסְפָּח}$  into  $\text{מִסְפָּה}$ , cf. Jer. xxv. 15 seqq.). The prophet says, "Woe unto the tool of the Lord," cf. Is. x. 5.

(4) 1 Kings x. 1  $\text{לשם יהוה}$  =  $\text{לשמה}$  is a corrupted double of  $\text{שלמה}$ .

(5) In Zech. ix. 17  $\text{Θ}$  (*cod. Alex.*) has  $\delta\tau\iota\ \epsilon\dot{\iota}\ \tau\iota\ \alpha\gamma\alpha\theta\acute{o}\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\dot{\iota}\ \tau\iota\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{o}\nu\ \pi\alpha\rho'\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ ,  $\sigma\acute{\iota}\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \nu\epsilon\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\sigma\kappa\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \kappa\tau.\lambda.$ ; the original Hebrew was:

כִּי מִיְהוָה מִנִּבּוֹ | וּמִיְהוָה יָפִי  
מִפְּנֵי דָן בְּהוֹרִים | וְתִירֹשׁ יִנּוּבֵב בְּתוֹלֹת:

But even supposing that  $\text{Θ}^a$  and  $\text{Θ}$  read  $\text{אֲדַר}$  and  $\text{לֲאֲדַר}$ , I believe it more probable, that the name of the Lord stood originally after the  $\text{ל}$ , than that this preposition was connected with either  $\text{אֲדַרִּים}$  or  $\text{שְׁעָרִים}$ .

$\text{לִי}$   $\text{Θ}^a$ ,  $\text{לִי}$   $\text{Θ}^b$ .—I cannot make out the exact meaning of  $\text{יָר}$ ;  $\text{Θ}^a$ 's  $\epsilon\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\iota$  (in a gloss embedded in v. 14,  $\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\iota\ \mu\omicron\iota\ \epsilon\nu\ \delta\upsilon\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ ) and  $\text{Z}$ 's *dimicavit* are perhaps right; the *corresponsio* of II, 2 and III, 2 suggests the same signification for  $\text{יָר}$  as  $\text{בְּבֹרִים}$ —עוֹר "against the oppressors" ( $\text{Z}$ )?  $\text{בֹּר}$  is used *in malam partem* Ps. lii. 3. It may, however, be possible that  $\text{נְבָרִים}$  means the mercenaries of the Hittite king, who, according to Egyptian inscriptions, were called "heroes." See W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 356: "Anscheinend bildeten . . . Fremde die Hauptmasse des hetitischen Fussvolks, so standen '8000 Helden vor dem Fürsten' (Ros. 110) ausser 'anderen Helden, die hinter ihm kämpften, 9000' Champ. 23, 314;" cf. *ibid.* p. 334.

v. 14  $\text{בַּעֲמֶךְ}$   $\text{Θ}^a$ ,  $\text{בַּעֲמֶלְךְ}$   $\text{Θ}^b$  represent the same word as  $\text{בַּעֲמֶכְךְ}$   $\text{Θ}^b$  v. 15; and it is not difficult to see that all these readings are misplaced variants for  $\text{בַּעֲמֶמְךְ}$ , or, more accurately, for  $\text{בַּעֲמֶמֶם}$ ; that this is really so, is proved by  $\text{Θ}$ 's reading v. 15  $\text{בַּעֲמֶמָּא}$  =  $\text{בַּעֲמֶמֶם}$  and by  $\text{Z}$ 's v. 14 b  $\text{בַּעֲמֶמִּיךְ}$  (cf.  $\text{Z}$ ). Before  $\text{מִי}$  the predicate has dropped

out (perhaps יִצְאָו, יִצְאָו). In שְׂרָשָׁם, then, must be hidden the title of the Ephraemite leader or leaders; see below.

That the final כ of אַחֲרֵיךְ has been corrupted from מ, this being the preposition מִן, is suggested by the analogy of יִמְצָבְלִין and proved by S's "et post eum ex Benjamin."—חֲרִי Ruben, אַחֲרֵי מִן; חֲרִי exhibits the same form of plural as שְׂרִי. We have seen already that בַּעֲמֹךְ, not בַּעֲמָךְ, appears to be the original tradition; the final מ is here, as often, the *sigla* for מִן, cf. Micah vii. 3 בְּפָיִם מִן, בְּפָיִם מִן.—"Nobles from Benjamin with their vassals."

מִן מְחֻקְקִים, מִן מְחֻקְקִים.

Θ<sup>β</sup> has ἐν ῥάβδῳ διηγέσεως γραμματέως; Θ<sup>α</sup> ἐν σκήπτρῳ ἐπισχυύοντος ἡγήσεως (De Lagarde's *aeax* have ἐπισχυύοντες). Everybody recognizes בַּשֶּׁבֶט; as to ἐπισχυύοντος = שְׂרִי, see my note on v. 12; ἡγήσεως = שִׁיחַ, cf. Θ<sup>β</sup> v. 10 (11); διηγέισθε = שִׁיחוּ. But how to understand the letters שְׂרָשִׁי כֹפֶר? I venture a conjecture. Budde seems to be right, when he thinks that with בַּשֶּׁבֶט the line ends. Is it then impossible to see in כֹפֶר an alternative reading for שְׂרָשִׁי, or, what may as well underlie the Greek translation, שְׂרָשָׁה, the latter being identical with שְׂרָשָׁם II, 3? Now I have not the slightest doubt, for reasons of a quite independent character, that the א of אַחֲרֵיךְ—if we must not totally discard it—belongs to שְׂרָשָׁם; and I surmise that שְׂרָשָׁמָה is nothing but שְׂרָשָׁמָה<sup>1</sup>, which word, as 2 Kings xxv. 19 = Jer. lii. 25 shows, is identical in meaning with כֹפֶר.

v. 15. That בַּעֲמֹךְ must be discarded we have already seen. Instead of מִן's וַיִּשְׁכַּח בֶּן בָּרַק, Θ<sup>β</sup> has וַיִּשְׁכַּח בֶּן בָּרַק; וַיִּשְׁכַּח, of course, is a repetition of the same word in the first σολῶα; the final ן of בֶּן בָּרַק is nothing but the ן of וַיִּשְׁכַּח. But what is the כ of בֶּן? It must belong to דְּבָרָה; read דְּבָרָהֶם instead of דְּבָרָה "their followers"; cf. Arabic كَائِرٌ "following behind the back," "following, with respect to place."

<sup>1</sup> There are no palaeographical objections; in Is. li. 14 מִן has מְחֻקְקִים, Micah vi. 10 אִשׁ בֵּית רַעִי is a double of רַעִי אִשׁ.

שָׁלַח "he armed himself," cf. Arabic سَلَحَ v. The Pual is used here instead of the Hithpael, just as חָבֵא Job xxiv. 4 and, probably, also יָנַב Job iv. 12, בְּרִנְלִי נִפְחָלִי Ruben, בְּרִנְלִי בְּרִנְלִי; that the name of this tribe must be hidden somewhere here has already been seen by Studer.

That שָׁלַח has been reserved for the second part of the verse is not unexampled; cf. III, 11 (אִם סִיסְרָא); Ps. lxxvii. 3 (נִפְשִׁי); lxxv. 10 (לְאֱלֹהֵי יַעֲקֹב). 2 Sam. i. 19 can only be understood, when restituted with the help of i. 25, which last in its present position spoils very badly the disposition of the second part of the Song. (vv. 23–27, (a) Saul and Jonathan, (b) Saul, (c) Jonathan); read:

הַצִּבִּי יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּחוֹךְ מִלְחָמָה | יְהוֹנָתָן עַל בְּמוֹתֶיךָ חָלַל  
refer הַצִּבִּי to Saul, and observe the place of that most important word חָלַל; 2 Sam. i. 21 (עֲלִיכֶם); Obad. 20 (יִרְשׁוּ); Zech. ix. 17 (יִנוּב); see p. 543).

לִב רֵאוּבֵן נָדוּל מְחַקְרֵי לֵב Ruben.

לֵב רֵאוּבֵן נָדוּלִים חֲקָקֵי לֵב, "O Reuben, thou who art great," &c. v. 17. אֲנִיחָה ?? אֲנִיחָה Budde.

v. 19. אֵז, see my note upon v. 8. The way in which נִלְחָמוּ is repeated in v. 20, seems to show that the Canaanites, as well as the stars, fought *against* Sisera. לָקְחוּ is pluperfect tense; they had not taken any silver from the Israelites as reward for their help. These words may allude, by way of a mocking contrast, to a custom (?) of the Hittites, to buy their alliances; see Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 334: "Das Epos selbst gibt an, 'nicht hatte er (the king of the Hittites) Silber oder Gold in seinem Lande gelassen und sich alles seines Gutes entäussert' [sie mit sich zu führen, Raifet], oder besser 'er hatte es allen Völkern gegeben, die bei ihm genannt sind' (Karnak, 10)."

v. 20. I can understand this line only, if I suppose that the stars were the gods of the Canaanites, just as the Lord

<sup>1</sup> Here I read אֵז כְּנַעֲנִים עַד צִרְפָּה אֵז | אֵז לִבֵּי יִשְׂרָאֵל | אֵז כְּנַעֲנִים עַד צִרְפָּה. As to אֵז see 2 Kings xvii. 6, xviii. 11. אֵז, אֵז, אֵז is *pronom. relativum*. A similar conjecture has been proposed by Prof. Cheyne in his instructive review of Nowack's *Minor Prophets*: see *Expositor*, 1897, p. 367.

was the God of Israel. That would be a remarkable trace of Babylonian influence upon Canaan<sup>1</sup>. This influence was counteracted, it seems, later on by a reaction in favour of the national Baalim.

v. 21. The earnest intention to observe accurately and to interpret methodically, is a poor help with so obscure a line as this; and if we are, in this case, really able to touch firm ground, it is due, most of all, to good luck.

(1) The line must consist of two  $\kappa\omega\lambda\alpha^2$ ; we therefore may assume, that the *caesura* is before the second נחל קישן, and that this word is repeated by the way of *ἐπανάληψις* (cf. e.g. מִפְּנֵי יְהוָה I, 5) or *ἐπαναφορά* (as מָדוּן III, 12). But in the former case the repetition implies an additional explanation, be it by an appositive (as אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל I, 5) or by a genitive (as פְּרוּטוֹ I, 14); in the latter case we should expect a kind of conformity of the second  $\kappa\omega\lambda\alpha\varsigma$  to the first. None of these seems to be the case. And if we discard the second נחל קישן and make the second  $\kappa\omega\lambda\alpha\varsigma$  begin with נחל קדומים, nothing is really changed. There is only one escape: the words נחל קדומים נחל קישן form the real beginning of the verse, being, so to say, a fuller *varia lectio* for the first נחל קישן:

נחל קדומים נחל קישן | גרפם תדרכי נפשי עו

(2) נפשי עו is an Assyrian loan-word, נפשיש "like red wool"; see Delitzsch, *Assyrisches Handwörterbuch*, p. 445 b, "*nabāsiš*, Adv. *gleich rothfarbiger Wolle*. die Wasser seiner Kanäle '*i-na dāmē<sup>amēl</sup> ku-ra-de-šu is-ru-pu* (3. Pl.) *na-ba-si-iš*, Khors. 130." It has the same meaning as *kima nabāsi*, see Delitzsch, *ibid.*, 445 a, "*nabāsu* (*nabassu*) auch *napāsu* geschr., ganz selten *nabāšu*, gefärbte, näher *roth-gefärbte Wolle*. *dāmē* (*ku-ra-de*)-šū-nu<sup>šad</sup> *Hiriha ki-ma*

<sup>1</sup> Maspero, *Struggle of the Nations*, p. 167, says: "Chaldaean theology . . . must have exercised influence on individual Syrians and on their belief; but although we are forced to allow the existence of such influence, we cannot define precisely the effects produced by it."

<sup>2</sup> I do not deny the existence of *στίχοι τριώλαιοι*; on the contrary, I hope I shall be able to prove it; but they do not occur in this Song.

*na-ba-si lu(-ú) as-ru-up* mit ihrem, bez. ihrer Krieger, Blut färbte ich den Berg Ch. wie rothfarbige Wolle. Tig. IV, 20 f. . . ihr Blut liess ich in den Euläus fliessen, seine Wasser *as-ru-up ki-ma na-ba-as-si*, V R, 3, 43."

(3) Then we must expect to find somewhere, probably in גרפם, a verb like "he has (they have) coloured it (the river)." By a strange accident, the very word that is always used in the Assyrian sentences quoted above appears here in the Hebrew text, perhaps in an aramaized form (comp. יתנו I, 14 instead of ישנו); for צרף: צרף = (Syr.) *ṣṣḥk*: נחך: נחך = *ṣṣḥk*.<sup>1</sup> Now the suffix of גרפם must refer to the river, i. e. must mean, "it"; and so we have here one example more of the well-known Phoenician substitute<sup>2</sup> for Hebrew י, usually vocalized in Hebrew texts י-ו<sup>3</sup>, and recognized also in Is. viii. 15 (בַּם) by de Goeje (*Revue Critique*, 1875, p. 292). The ם of יִשְׁאֵלִים Is. xv. 7 refers to בְּקִרְיָתָם, that of יִרְשֵׁם Hos. ix. 6 to מִחְמָר. Write גִּרְפִּים.

(4) Instead of קרומים the *Codex Alexandrinus* has Καθη-σεύμ; and this can hardly be anything else but the plural of קְרִישׁ "inhabitant of Kadesh at the Orontes." So the very Song confirms Marquart's splendid conjecture—nay emendation—that we must read in Judges iv. 2, 13, 16 קְרִישׁ הַחֲתִיִּים instead of חֲתִישׁ הַחֲתִיִּים<sup>4</sup>. I may point out, perhaps, that some of the Hittite proper names known to us end with s<sup>2</sup>-r<sup>2</sup>, see W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa nach altaegyptischen Denkmälern*, p. 332, Jensen in *Zt.d.D.M.G.*, XLVIII, p. 242; just as the name of Sisera. Marquart may be right when he thinks him to be a son of Shamgar.

(5) Now it is not difficult to see that הַדְּרָכִי is חֲדָרְכִי "the man (or 'men') of Hadrak" (Zech. ix. 1); see *Dictionary of the Bible* (by Smith and Fuller), I<sup>2</sup>, 1262. "The numerous attempts of former scholars to identify the

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps Hebrew גרס (Lam. iii. 16) is Arabic *ḡars*.

<sup>2</sup> See Schroeder, *Die Phoenizische Sprache*, pp. 153-156.

<sup>3</sup> See Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*<sup>26</sup>, § 103. f, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> Loc. cit., p. 3. That חֲדָרְכִי cannot be identified with the present El-harīṭige has been seen by Buhl, *Geographie des alten Palaestina*, p. 214.

locality (of Hadrak), have been antiquated by Schrader's recognition of the name in the Assyrian inscriptions. It is there variously called the Land *Hatarakka*, *Hatarikka*, and *Hatarika*; and it is mentioned along with Damascus and Hamath, just as it is in Zech. ix. 1, 2, as well as with Zobah, Simyra, and Arqa (see *WAT.*, II, 52, 46 b; III, 10, No. 3, 34; Schrader's *KGF.*, p. 122, and his *KAT*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 453, 482, 484)."

(6) נחל קדשים is a mocking surname, given by the poetess to the river, as it is full of corpses of the Kadeshites. The poetess plays intentionally with the sound of the words; cf. "der Rheinstrom ist worden zu einem Peinstrom," Schiller, *Wallenstein's Lager*, Scene viii.

v. 22. (1) Discard, with מְדַהֲרוֹת. (2) Write מְדַהֲרוֹת or מְדַהֲרוֹת; for this word must have the same syntactical function as עֲקֵבִי, or—perhaps more accurately, as we shall see—as סוֹם; מְדַהֲרוֹת would be a participle, used as a substantive, just as מְמַרְתִּי, and designate the heels (literally "the stampers," just as the German hunters call the ears of deer "die Lauscher"). (3) The suffix of אֲבִירָיו shows that the owners of these horses must have been mentioned, and there can be no doubt that their name originally stood before מְדַהֲרוֹת, and that it was governed, as object, by הִלְמוּ. Now some representatives of *Θ*<sup>a</sup> read, καὶ ὁμαλιεῖ ἡ πτέρνα μου τὰς ὕβρεις ἐκστάσεως αὐτῶν. Instead of ὁμαλιεῖ we ought to write, it seems to me, ὁμῶς, this being a corruption of הִלְמוּ; ἡ πτέρνα μου = עֲקֵבִי; τὰς ὕβρεις ἐκστάσεως αὐτῶν is, in all probability, נְאוֹנֵי חֲרָדָתָם; חֲרָדָתָם appears to represent מְדַהֲרוֹת (מְדַהֲרוֹת *Θ*<sup>a</sup>) and נְאוֹנֵי, the name we are looking for:

אוּ הִלְמוּ עֲקֵבִי סוֹם | נְאוֹנֵי מְדַהֲרוֹת אֲבִירָיו

It might seem now, that after הִלְמוּ a name parallel to that hidden in נְאוֹנֵי, has dropped out; in fact עֲקֵבִי contains this name. For it is a most remarkable proof of the high art of our poem, that wherever a substantive joined with a genitive occurs in the one *κῶλον*, a similar construction is avoided in the other—with exception, of course, of



those cases where ἐπανάληψις takes place (e.g. I, 14, III, 15). As in I, 3 שרה ארום corresponds to שעיר; I, 8 שערי שרים to [הרשים]; III, 8 הלמות עמלים to יתד; III, 12 פעמי סום to מרכבותיו, so in our passage מדהרות אביריו to סום, not עקבי סום. We shall learn, perhaps, one day from the inscriptions where the country עקב was situated.

As to the other name, I should like to refer my readers to W. Max Müller's *Asien und Europa*, p. 335: "den Fürsten des Landes *Ka-da-va-d-n* (*Ka-da-va-da-na*, Raifet) nennt das Epos als ersten der Bundesgenossen oder Vasallen (of the Hittites)." As the Semitic equivalent of *Ka-da-va-d-n* would be נצורן or קצורן (see *ibid.*, pp. 94, 104), I propose to write נַצְוֹנִי instead of נַאוֹנִי<sup>1</sup>.

v. 23. After this verse three lines have dropped out; they may have contained curses against those tribes, the mention of which is missed in this poem.

v. 27. נפל in the first καλῶν makes nonsense, as it is clearly the object of the second καλῶν to relate Sisera's fall.

v. 30. Discard the words שלל צבעים רקמה (dittographies). The word שלל after צאורי is hardly right. Ewald conjectured שָׁנָל.

v. 31 is a kind of ἐπιδός, which I have found sometimes in poems of strophic composition.

### *Historical Summary.*

The Song in Judges v. was composed by Deborah, and shows already all the characteristic forms of Hebrew poetry; they are handled in the most masterly fashion.

The Song celebrates the victory of six Israelitish tribes, under the leadership of Barak, over the Hittite king, Sisera, the ruler of Kadesh and of Hadrak. He, or a predecessor of his—Shamgar—had extended his rule over the north of Canaan. I therefore do not quite agree with W. Max

<sup>1</sup> "Tunc conculcaverunt Acabitam equi, Gasvanitam ungulae equorum suorum."

Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 324: "Sie (the Hittites) drangen südlich niemals über das obere Orontesthal, das alte Amoriterland, hinaus." A part of Sisera's army was formed by mounted men from עֶקֶב (?) and גִּזְעֹן (?).

The Israelites were assisted by the Canaanite kings, and by the wandering non-Israelitish population of their country.

The tribe of Naphtali seems to have enjoyed monarchical government (נָפִתִי); there was a leading aristocracy in Benjamin and Issachar (שָׁרֵי עַם יִזְבְּרִיָּהוּ and שָׁרֵי בְנֵמִינָהוּ). The names of officials in Ephraim, Machir, Zebulun imply perhaps a kind of democracy (מִשְׁבָּתִים בְּשֶׁבֶט, חֹזְקִים, שָׂרֵי צִבְאָה).

The poem betrays traces of Assyrian and of Aramaic influences upon Canaan.

I cannot express an opinion with regard to the date of the Song.

### Indices.

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III. *Arabic* words, that help us to understand the text:—

בֶּכֶר I, 8	שֶׂדֶּ II, 2	לֶחֶם I, 8
תָּנִי II. I, 14	סֶכֶר I, 12	מֶחֶץ III, 9
דָּבָר II, 5	פֶּרֶעֶה II, 9	מִיָּצַץ I, 13
סֶלַח II. II, 5		

## IV. Some other words:—

גֶּרָה = Assyrian צֶרֶף II, 14.

מִלְכִּים An Aramaic loan-word? I, 7.

נִפְשִׁישׁ An Assyrian loan-word, II, 14.

## V. Aramaisms:—

מִדִּין ? I, 12	חֲרִי II, 3	נִרְפָּם ? II, 14
יִתְנוּ ? I, 14	עֲמִיּוּהֶם II, 3	הַלְמוֹת III, 8
יָרַד II, 2	שָׂרִי II, 5	

PAUL RUBEN.

TEXT.

1.	אוי אירי ישרי	אוי ירוי	אוי ירוי	אוי ירוי
2.	לענד ירוי פפני	לענד ירוי	לענד ירוי	לענד ירוי
3.				
4.				
5.				
6.	פאפא	פאפא	פאפא	פאפא
7.	פאפא	פאפא	פאפא	פאפא
8.	פאפא	פאפא	פאפא	פאפא
9.	פאפא	פאפא	פאפא	פאפא
10.	פאפא	פאפא	פאפא	פאפא
11.	פאפא	פאפא	פאפא	פאפא
12.	פאפא	פאפא	פאפא	פאפא
13.	פאפא	פאפא	פאפא	פאפא
14.	פאפא	פאפא	פאפא	פאפא
15.	פאפא	פאפא	פאפא	פאפא

פאפא פאפא פאפא פאפא פאפא